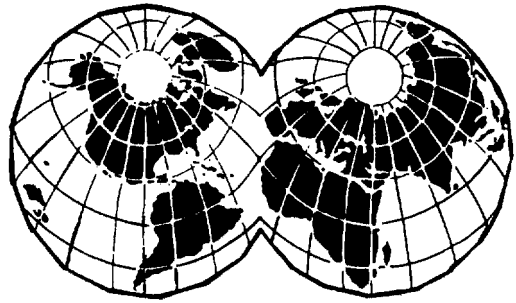


World-wide Perspectives



KEY DATES

- March -- April Western Europe NATO. This year the spring peace demonstrations will be augmented by anti-NATO demonstrations in conjunction with NATO's 20th anniversary. Key NATO dates: March 18, 1949 NATO formed; April 4, 1949 NATO treaty signed; April 10, 1969 20th anniversary NATO ministerial meeting in Washington
- March 2-6 50th anniversary of first Congress of the Third International (Comintern), in Moscow through which national CP's were bound to Soviet control.
- March 7 Czechoslovakia Tomas Masaryk's birthday: born 1850; died September 14, 1937. Leader of struggle for national independence. First president of Czechoslovakia. Viciously attacked by Communists until 1968 when top Czechoslovak officials paid public respect to his memory. Soviet Union has not mitigated its enmity toward Masaryk.
- March 10 Czechoslovakia Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk (son of Tomas Masaryk) died in fall from office window following Communist coup, 1948.
- March 13 Tibet 1959 Revolt precipitated by Chicom attempt to arrest Dalai Lama.
- March 15 Czechoslovakia 30th anniversary Hitler's occupation and dismemberment of Czechoslovak Republic.
- April 12-21 Kuala Lumpur World Fellowship of Buddhists 9th General Assembly.
- April 17 USSR 1894: Khrushchev born. 75th birthday.

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Principal Developments in World Communist Affairs
(14 December 1968-22 January 1969)

1. Czechoslovakia -- Unity vs. Division

a. Leadership vs. People

Soviet strategy since the invasion has been to break up the powerful unity (unique in a Communist country) which had been formed between the Czechoslovak Communist leadership and the people during the first eight months of 1968. By forcing the four most prominent and popular Czech leaders -- Party Chief Aleksander Dubcek, Premier Otto Cernik, President Ludvik Svoboda, and National Assembly (parliament) President Josef Smrkovsky -- to execute Soviet requirements, the Soviets are driving a wedge between leaders and people. It weakens people and leaders alike and subjects the latter to manipulation, or removal, by the Soviets without serious repercussion. It may be that these leaders are motivated by their same earlier objectives of achieving a "humane," progressive form of Communism, but this must seem an academic, unrealistic distinction to the increasingly disillusioned populace, which has seen the emasculation of the once promising Action Program of reform. Further, the Party Politburo and its Executive Committee (a kind of super-politburo), on which all four of the main leaders sit, have shown signs of dissension, partly because some of their newer members are better disposed toward the Soviets to begin with and push for more rapid and forceful measures to control popular opposition.

b. Federalization as a Divisive Issue

One feature of the Action Program was realized on 1 January 1969: the federalization of Czechoslovakia, which divides the country into semi-autonomous Czech and Slovak states, each having several independent ministerial powers, with key ministries such as foreign policy, defense, etc. remaining on the federal level. The move raises the prestige and standing of the Slovaks vis-a-vis the Czech state of Bohemians and Moravians, who have traditionally evoked the envy and hostility of the Slovaks because of their higher standard of living, based on more advanced industrialization. While federalization, in principle, tries to "equalize" the two halves of Czechoslovakia, thus far it has merely resulted in highlighting the animosities between them. Although in the long run it should serve its best purposes, at this important juncture it has served only to add another divisive note to the scene.

c. Unity of Workers, Students, and Writers

On the occasion of federalization, the issue of a president for the new bi-cameral Federal Assembly came up, with the Slovaks insisting he be one of their own. This meant that Smrkovsky, as head of the current National Assembly, would have to step down. Smrkovsky, being one of the last leaders still to speak out frankly on issues rankling in the public mind, was regarded as something of a hero, a symbol of liberalization and resistance to Soviet demands. Mass support in the form of trade

unions representing more than a million workers, plus students and writers, rallied behind Smrkovsky, threatening a nation-wide strike if he were removed from his post -- a move which his supporters felt would be not only a demotion, but also a prelude to stripping him of all his important official positions. The Czech leadership (and presumably the Soviets as well) took heed of the threat and found a satisfactory compromise solution whereby Smrkovsky is to occupy the newly created post of vice-president of the Federal Assembly and president of one of the two houses of the Assembly. (Smrkovsky also made a personal plea to his supporters to refrain from demonstrating in his behalf.) He also retains his important Party posts as member of the Politburo and its Executive Committee. It seems quite likely that this display of popular unity saved Smrkovsky's political life, and one can hope that the trade unions' new consciousness of their strength (especially in conjunction with students and other groups) will continue to find practical effect and means of expression. The danger, of course, is that the Soviets will take whatever drastic measures they see fit in order to eradicate this new focus of competition to the Communist Party.

d. The Palach Incident

On 16 January a young student, Jan Palach, set fire to himself in protest to the oppression of Czechoslovakia; he died the following Sunday. This tragic, desperate act gave rise to a new show of popular unity and a great crescendo of sympathy expressed by the quiet marching of more than 100,000 citizens, led by students and professors, in the streets of Prague. The protest character of the demonstration was unmistakable. It prompted an impassioned plea by President Svoboda that young people of the country refrain from public demonstrations lest riots ensue, which could mean lives lost and the fall of the Dubcek regime. It is not known whether Svoboda spoke as the result of a direct Soviet warning to him, but the disorder is so widespread that it could easily call forth more drastic measures by the nervous Soviets. Some view the situation as critical.

2. Some Mysteries of Communist China

a. Cultural Revolution Fading Away Violently

While the Chinese Communist leadership tries more or less consistently to slow down the momentum of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and its engine -- the youthful terrorist thugs known as the Red Guard -- violence and strife characterize much of the vast Chinese countryside, giving it an aura of anarchy, to a considerable degree beyond the control of Peking. While information is increasingly difficult to acquire, it appears that Mao and his group will continue to have difficulty in stopping the momentum of this lumbering Frankenstein monster, if indeed the leadership is united on the desirability of stopping it. Having wrecked considerable segments of the Party in the provinces, it has set loose all kinds of violent struggles for

power throughout China among local Party leaders, army personalities, and Red Guardists. It seems certain that this struggle is duplicated at the very center of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) around Mao, though exactly who is cutting whose throat is a matter hidden even more deeply from the world.

China exploded its eighth nuclear device (three megatons) on 27 December. The last previous successful explosion (also three megatons) was in June 1967. It may be that the Cultural Revolution even took its toll in this vital area inasmuch as December 1967 saw an unsuccessful attempt to explode a similar device.

d. Long Delayed Ninth Party Congress in the Offing

Besides the signs that the Cultural Revolution is being bridled, there are a few other tenuous indications that the Chinese want a return to what passes for normalcy in that land. The long-rumored (and ten years overdue) CCP Congress will be convened sometime in 1969. The main objective seems to be to rebuild the wrecked Communist Party and restore it to its position of primacy in ruling China. Timing of the Congress may also be intended to damage the effect of Moscow's World Conference in May. A draft of the new Party Constitution has become available (see attachment). Oddities in China are to be expected and the new draft fulfills expectations in this respect: in an unprecedented procedure, it names Mao's successor -- Lin Piao, Defense Minister and Mao's closest collaborator during recent years. Also, it decrees that membership in various Party organs, including the Central Committee, will be decided not by election, nor even by appointment; members are to be "produced."

Considering the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution and the fierce factionalism it has caused throughout the Party from top to bottom, and further considering some of the oddities of the draft constitution, the unusually long absence of the top Party leaders from public view has fed speculation that a huge shake-up or change has taken place, or is taking place, at the very apex of the Party, and that the change could involve Mao Tse-tung, who at the age of 75 is at all times a candidate for physical or political demise. In the lack of more evidence, only time will tell whether such speculation is justified.

3. Western CP's Accept Soviet Invasion

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was condemned immediately and vigorously by most free world Communist Party leaders, and since then it has been an irritant between the CPSU and important parties, like the Italian Communist Party (PCI), and the French Communist Party (PCF). The issue caused difficulty to Soviet efforts to convene their long-planned World Communist Conference and eventually caused its postponement from November 1968 to May 1969. Gradually the righteous voices of indignation subsided under Soviet pressure. Now the typical position of European parties, including the important PCF and PCI, is that they still

disapprove of the invasion, but by a curious form of doublethink approve of the CPSU and the Soviet Union! It is as if the nasty Czechoslovak incident existed in a vacuum, a thing apart, with no implications whatsoever concerning the real nature of the CPSU. These parties have all but knuckled under to the Soviet Union.

They prefer to forget that the invasion of Czechoslovakia violates not only norms of international law, but the Communists' own laws and principles of independence, sovereignty, and non-interference in domestic affairs of others. The Soviets, having recognized their own violation, conveniently modified their basic principle by means of the notorious Brezhnev-Kovalev doctrine of super-sovereignty, whereby allegiance to the Soviet Union supersedes all other loyalties and principles. While the Soviets have at least tried to explain their invasion by recourse to new doctrine, the sycophantic Western CP's have not even bothered to uphold their stand, preferring to bury the contradictions.

If these parties were to be as candid as they claim to be, they might add that they approve of the CPSU not just because it is Lenin's party and the power center of the World Communist Movement, but also because it is the source of a substantial portion of the funds on which they subsist. The virtually unanimous and unqualified approval of the CPSU by Latin American and Near East CP's has its explanation largely in the fact that they could not exist without Soviet money, and obviously they will not bite the hand that feeds them. The practical matter of material support and financial solvency has overcome all ideological scruples, though the high-flown rhetoric continues. Ultimately their existence depends on this Soviet material support, and in return the Soviet Union receives their political support as tools of Soviet foreign policy.

NEW YORK TIMES

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PRESSURE MOUNTS ON CZECH LIBERAL

Slovaks Want to Replace
Smrkovsky in Assembly

Special to The New York Times

PRAGUE, Dec. 23—Pressures mounted from high Government levels today for the ouster of Josef Smrkovsky, chairman of the National Assembly and one of the most popular progressives in the leadership of Czechoslovakia.

Many students and workers have promised to stage protests if Mr. Smrkovsky was forced to give up his job when the new Czechoslovak Federal state is created Jan. 1.

His supporters were disheartened and angry after the speech last night in Bratislava by Gustav Husak, Deputy Premier and one of the most powerful voices in the present Government.

Mr. Husak suggested publicly

for the first time that Mr. Smrkovsky, a Czech, give up his job so that a Slovak could hold one of the three positions in the new Federal Government. The other two posts are held by Czechs, President Ludvik Svoboda and Premier Oldrich Cernik.

Effective power in Czechoslovakia's Communist party is believed to be concentrated now in the hands of Mr. Husak who is head of the Slovak

party, and of Premier Cernik and Lubomir Strougal, another Deputy Premier. All three are regarded as favoring necessary compromises with Moscow and a stronger stand against those rebelling against the restrictions imposed after the Soviet-led invasion in August.

Mr. Husak suggested, in the name of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovak party, that the Slovak nation have its representative in one of the highest state functions. The Slovak party Presidium, he said, considers it just that the head of the Federal Assembly be the Slovak representative.

Sensing that the 57-year-old Mr. Smrkovsky was in trouble, workers and students have been building their own pressures in recent weeks. The 900,000-member Metal Workers Union, the largest in the country, and students and agricultural workers joined in the last week in threatening a strike if the chairman was demoted.

Almost every day the press here reports that another group of supporters called on Mr. Smrkovsky to express their enthusiasm. Newspapers said that "scores of delegations from factories, party and trade union organizations," visited the chairman yesterday to express their "affection, respect and support."

Some of the support comes from Slovakia. The Trade Union Committee of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, representing 3,000 members, sent a telegram over the weekend saying they were behind him.

Mr. Smrkovsky, who is a member of the party's Presidium, said that he was in good

health and he had no intention of resigning. He added that he intended to proceed "in harmony with the leadership of the party if this will be compatible with my conscience and my responsibility."

The new government is expected to be announced before the new year by President Svoboda, with Mr. Cernik remaining as Premier of the federal state. The decision on Mr. Smrkovsky is not expected until the Central Committee meets sometime in January.

Mr. Smrkovsky has found no favor with the Soviet Union. Along with Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist party, Mr. Smrkovsky was imprisoned and abducted by the Soviet Union after the Warsaw Pact invasion. Unlike Mr. Dubcek, he has not been urging post-invasion compromises as the way out of the present situation. He was chosen National Assembly chairman and Presidium member earlier this year after the liberalizing "democratic social revolution" erupted.

WASHINGTON POST

9 January 1969

Dubcek Calls For Discipline, Backs Reforms

By Dan Morgan

Washington Post Foreign Service

PRAGUE, Jan. 8—Czechoslovak Communist Party leader

Alexander Dubcek reassured his countrymen today that nothing was being done "behind your backs" to dismantle last year's reforms, but he indicated that there were limits to acceptable modes of political expression.

In a radio and television address, the Party First Secretary said that the country could "come out of the complex situation only through a unified program, led centrally from one place, and that is why every effort to form a platform against the Central Committee — any effort to create illusions about there being another way — would only lead us into a blind alley."

Dubcek referred several times in a gently reproving tone to the vigorous campaign by workers, students and intellectuals to save the political future of Czech progressive Josef Smrkovsky.

(The 900,000-member metal workers union, which had threatened to strike if Smrkovsky did not get the country's

highest legislative post, was to decide Thursday whether to accept a compromise proposal by the Communist Party Presidium for keeping him in some top job.)

Dubcek said:

"We can't constantly make demands and support them with strike threats. We can't fling unfounded charges against individuals, or we will just fritter away our energies that should be concentrated on solving serious problems. Such things open the door to extremist forces which might take advantage of us. If allowed to do so, it could become a vicious circle and we could lose everything and forfeit all we have achieved since last January."

As an example of something overstepping acceptable limits, Dubcek chose the campaign by progressives and others launched against the proposal of Gustav Husak, the First Secretary of the Slovak Communist

Party, that Smrkovsky, who headed the old unicameral National Assembly, be denied the presidency of the newly constituted Federal Assembly. Husak said one of the three top federal posts should be held by a Slovak.

On Tuesday, the Czechoslovak Party Presidium proposed that Slovak moderate Petr Colotka become the president of the Federal Assembly and that Smrkovsky become his first deputy. This seemed to put an effective end to the pro-Smrkovsky campaign, although the two newly created houses of parliament must still vote on the leadership.

Two Are Friends

Dubcek himself pointed out that Colotka and Smrkovsky are close personally and would co-operate in the legislative work.

CPYRGHT

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Largest Czech Union Drops Its Threat to Strike Over

By ALVIN SHUSTER

PRAGUE, Jan. 9—The largest trade union in Czechoslovakia yielded today to pressures from the Communist party's leadership and decided against a strike in support of Josef Smrkovsky, an active supporter of democratic reforms who is opposed by the Soviet Union.

The Union of Metal Workers, with more than 900,000 members, tried one last tactic, however, in an effort to save Mr. Smrkovsky, chairman of the outgoing national assembly, from being demoted to a second-level post.

After a two-day meeting, it suggested a "democratic election" in the two-chamber federal Assembly being formed here as part of the creation of the Czech-Slovak federal republic.

An election by the nearly 450 Deputies would pit Mr. Smrkovsky a Czech, against Dr. Peter Colotka, a Slovak chosen by the party's Presidium to become the federal Assembly's chairman. As a compromise, the Presidium recommended that Mr. Smrkovsky be appointed first deputy chairman of the Assembly and chairman of one of its chambers.

The decision of the metal workers to forgo a strike was a relief to the Prague leadership, which repeatedly warned that any such action might bring political chaos and a return of Soviet tanks to the streets of Prague and other cities.

Careful to avoid making any new threats, the union emphasized that it viewed

Deputy Premier Colotka as a progressive and that it considered a general strike unnecessary. Urged by Mr. Smrkovsky himself not to strike, the union said it did not intend to "support any efforts that would weaken the confidence in the leading role of the party." But it added that the tense situation had been created in part because of "insufficient information" from the Government.

Free Choice Thought Unlikely

It seemed extremely unlikely that the Communist leadership would go along with the proposal for a free election of the Assembly chairman even though the formal election procedure at a joint session of the Deputies is described as based on a "secret ballot." The two chambers will meet later this month for the formalities.

In the view of the party leadership, the issue, in effect, is closed. The 21-member Presidium, the party's highest organ, has made its decision. The Central Committee, which will meet next week, undoubtedly will go along with it.

Some trade-union officials said in interviews today that, despite the decision to back down from the strike threat, the outspoken support of Mr. Smrkovsky by the metal workers and other unions would have some positive results.

They asserted, for example, that the controversy had strengthened trade-union contentions that workers were

now an important and relatively independent political force that the leadership must reckon with.

Union Position Outlined

"The next time," one union official said, "I think we will be told a little sooner and with more precision what the party and the Government are thinking about."

The Central Council of Trade Unions, representing more than five million workers, has drafted a resolution that says in part, that trade unions should be "independent

organizations working out independent political positions toward the state, political parties and the active political forces inside the National Front."

Endorsement was expressed today by Listy, the liberal journal of Czech writers, which declared: "Workers have stopped being masses that can be manipulated."

Unions have been particularly concerned over the fate of workers' councils patterned after Yugoslav experiments in industrial self-management. The councils, which involve worker's participation in management decisions, were organized last year as part of economic reform.

The establishment of new councils was halted after the Soviet-led invasion in August, but the Government said those already functioning could continue. Unions have been active in trying to get permission for more councils.

Smrkovsky

Draft of Proposed Constitution of Chinese Communist Party

Following is the text of the draft of a proposed constitution of the Chinese Communist party as translated by Western sources in Hong Kong.

CHAPTER I General Program

The Communist party of China is the political party of the proletariat.

The basic program of the Communist party of China is to overthrow the bourgeoisie completely, to replace the bourgeois dictatorship with the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to defeat capitalism with Socialism. The ultimate goal of the party is the realization of Communism.

The Communist party of China is composed of advanced elements of the proletariat. It is a vigorous vanguard organization leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in fighting against class enemies.

The Communist party of China takes Marxism, Leninism, and the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the theoretical basis guiding its thought. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading toward total collapse toward worldwide victory.

In the past half century, in leading China in the great struggle to fulfill the new democratic revolution, in leading the great struggle of Socialist revolution and Socialist construction of China, and in the great struggle of the present international Communist movement against imperialism, modern revisionism, and the reactionaries of all countries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has combined the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of China, has inherited, defended and developed Marx-

ism-Leninism, and lifted it to a completely new stage.

Comrade Lin Biao has consistently held high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Biao is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's close comrade-in-arms and successor.

Socialist society is a historical phase of considerable duration. In this historical phase, classes, class contradictions and class struggle will exist throughout, as will the struggle between the two main lines: the line of socialism, the danger of capitalist restoration, and the threat

of subversion and aggression by imperialism and revisionism. These contradictions can be resolved only by relying on the Marxist theory and practice of uninterrupted revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country is just such a great political revolution under conditions of socialism, in which the proletariat opposes the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes.

In order to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, the whole party must hold high the great red banner of Marxism, Leninism, and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and lead the 700 million people of the country in building socialism independently, through hard struggle, going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better, and more economical results.

The Communist party of China firmly upholds proletarian internationalism, resolutely unites with all true Marxist-Leninist political parties and organizations in the whole world and with all oppressed peoples and nations of the whole world, supporting one another and learning from one another, and fights to overthrow imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, and reactionaries of all countries, in order to build a new world free from imperialism, capitalism, and system of exploitation.

The Communist party of China is consolidated and developed in the midst of big windstorms and heavy seas and in the struggle against right and "left" opportunist lines. In the course of class struggle and the struggle of the lines, the party must continuously get rid of the waste and let in the fresh, and insure that party and state leadership will forever remain in the hands of Marxists.

The Communist party of China with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as its leader is a great, glorious, correct party and leadership nucleus of the Chinese people.

Members of the Communist party of China who have vowed to fight for Communism all their lives must be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount all difficulties to win victory.

Chapter II Membership ARTICLE 1

All Chinese workers, poor peasants, and revolutionary service-

men and other revolutionary youth of the age of 18, who accept the Constitution of the party, join a party organization and work within it, and who carry out the resolutions of the party and pay membership dues, may become members of the Communist party of China.

ARTICLE 2

Any person applying for admission into the party must individually carry out the procedure of joining the party. An applicant must be recommended by two party members and must fill out application forms. After the party branch examines and extensively hears the views of the masses both inside and outside the party, the application must be passed by a general meeting of the party branch and then approved by the next higher party committee.

ARTICLE 3

Members of the Communist party of China must succeed in:

- (1) Creatively studying and applying Marxism, Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung.
- (2) Working for the interests of China and the overwhelming majority of the people of the world.
- (3) Uniting with the majority of people—including those who have mistakenly opposed them but have earnestly corrected their mistakes—but maintaining special vigilance against individual careerists, schemers and double-dealers, and preventing such nefarious persons from usurping party and state leadership at all levels.
- (4) Consulting with the masses on important matters, and
- (5) Being courageous in making criticism and self-criticism.

ARTICLE 4

When a member violates party discipline, the party organization at various levels may, within the scope of its own duties and power and in accordance with the actual circumstances, take such action as serving warning him, relieving him from duties within the party, retaining him in the party under surveillance, and expelling him from the party.

A party member who is apathetic and who does not reform after education should be advised to leave the party.

When a party member asks to resign from the party, the request should be approved by a general meeting of the

party branch and the name of the member should be included in a report should be made to the next higher party committee for record. If necessary, the resignation should be announced to the nonparty masses.

Renegades and enemy agents against whom there is conclusive evidence, die-hard and unrepentant power-holders who take the capitalist road, degenerates who have changed character, and class dissidents should be purged from the party and banned from joining the party again.

CHAPTER III Organizational Structure of the Party

ARTICLE 5

The organizational principle of the party is democratic centralism.

Leading organs of the party at all levels shall be produced through democratic consultation and election.

The whole party shall observe unified discipline: individuals shall obey the organization, the minority shall obey the majority, the lower levels shall obey the higher levels, and the whole party shall obey the center.

Leading organs of the party at all levels shall make work reports at specified intervals to party congresses or general meetings of members, regularly hear the views of the masses both inside and outside the party, and accept their supervision. A party member has the right to criticize and make suggestions to a party organization and leading persons at all levels.

If a party member differ from any decision or directive of the party organization, he is permitted to reserve his opinion and shall have the right to bypass intermediate levels and report directly to the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee. It is necessary to create a centralized, democratic, disciplined, free political body with a unified will, and individual sense of well-being. All organs of proletarian dictatorship, the Communist youth league, and people's organizations must accept the party's leadership.

ARTICLE 6

The highest leading organ of the party is the National Congress and the Central Committee it produces. Local, military and department leading organs of the party are the party congresses or general meetings of members and the corresponding levels and the party committees they

produce. Party congresses are convened by party committees of corresponding levels.

ARTICLE 7

In accordance with the principles of unified leadership, close relations with the masses, and simplification of administration, party committees at all levels shall establish administrative organs or designate their own representative organs.

Chapter IV

Central Organization of Party

ARTICLE 8

Under normal circumstances, the National Congress of the party shall be held once every five years. Under special circumstances, it may be held ahead of schedule or postponed.

ARTICLE 9

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the party produces the Politburo of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the Politburo and the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Central Committee.

A plenary session of the Central Committee is convened by the Politburo.

The Politburo and its Standing Committee shall exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee when it is not in plenary session.

Under the leadership of the Chairman, Vice Chairman, and the Standing Committee of the Central Committee, essential and competent organs shall be established to handle in centralized manner the day-to-day party's political and military work.

Chapter V

Local and Armed Forces Organizations of the Party

ARTICLE 10

Local congresses of the party at the hsien (county) level and above and, in the case of the People Liberation Army, at the regimental level and above, shall be held once every three years under normal circumstances, but may be held ahead of schedule or postponed under special circumstances.

Local and armed forces party committees at all levels shall produce their standing committees, secretaries, and deputy secretaries.

CHAPTER VI

Basic-Level Organizations

ARTICLE 11

Party branches should in

general be established in factory and mining enterprises, business organizations, people's communes, Government organs, schools, commercial stores, streets, People's Liberation Army companies, and other basic-level units. If there is a large number of party members or the needs of revolutionary struggle necessitates it, a general branch or basic-level committee may be established.

ARTICLE 12

Basic-level organizations of the party shall hold high the great red banner of Marxism, Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, bring proletarian politics to the fore, persevere in the four firsts, and foster the three-eight working style in a big way. Their principal tasks are as follows:

(1) To lead party members and the revolutionary masses

in studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought in a living way;

(2) To conduct education in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines regularly among party members and the revolutionary masses, and lead them in waging resolute struggle against class enemies;

(3) To publicize the party's policies, implement the party's resolution, and fulfill all tasks assigned by the party

and the state;

(4) To maintain close ties with the masses, regularly hear the views and demands of the masses, and develop active ideological struggle in the party, so as to make party life vigorous and vital;

(5) To develop party members, adhere to the party's discipline, regularly rectify the organization of the party, and preserve the purity of the party's ranks.